

THE SETTING

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With the advent of the Japanese in 1895, Lukang very soon lost its importance as a port, for Japan's plans for the colonization of Taiwan did not include maintaining Lukang as a trade and immigration center. The Japanese set about cutting off the movement of people and goods between Taiwan and the mainland, and, to divert the colony's trade from China to Japan, they built the port of Keelung in northern Taiwan (Barclay, 1954b:12, 18-42). The demise of Lukang both as a port and as a major urban center was hastened by the silting up of the harbor, which had begun even before the coming of the Japanese. As a result of Japanese indifference to Lukang as a port, the harbor soon became unusable.

The final blow by which the Japanese doomed Lukang's importance was the routing of the extensive west coast railroad system far from Lukang. The city could then neither be maintained as a major market town nor as a point of trans-shipment for the area's produce. Its decline as an urban center and as an influence on the surrounding area was reflected in an accompanying population decrease from one hundred thousand in the late eighteenth century to fifty-one thousand in 1954 (Women in Lukang Chen, 1954). The decrease took place despite the high rate of population growth in the rest of Taiwan.

Today, Lukang stands several miles from the sea, a city much diminished in size and importance. It offers little economic opportunity for its inhabitants, and despite some light industry, few village people are employed there. Nevertheless, although it is now a small, out-of-the-way city, it offers nearby villagers a convenient local marketplace and a center for some entertainment. Most important, it still functions as a religious center. From the earliest times the Chinese immigrants brought their gods with them from the mainland to Taiwan. These gods and goddesses, such as Matsu, became firmly established as important deities in Taiwan; the Matsu temple in Lukang is believed by the people of the area to be the oldest or second oldest Matsu temple on the island. For this reason Lukang is still one of the most important focal points for the religious pilgrimages of those who maintain loyalty to the Goddess Matsu.

The historical picture of this area at the time of the late Ch'ing dynasty comes from data furnished by older or better educated residents of the area and several local Chinese and Japanese gazetteers.<sup>3</sup> These various sources were used, wherever possible, to corroborate one another. The sources note that in the late nineteenth century the area was sparsely populated and that its inhabitants lived in constant fear of bandits. Up to the early part of the twentieth century dry farming produced most of the staples grown, since there was only a very limited system of irrigation. Crops like wheat, soybeans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, peanuts, a plant used to make dye for cloth, and brown grass were

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## NOTES

### Chapter 1: Introduction

- <sup>1</sup> During the last six or seven years of their regime, the Japanese government attempted to strengthen support of the war effort amongst the Taiwanese population. To do this, they expanded the compulsory school system and put in force many new regulations, i.e., only the Japanese language was used in the schools, Shinto religious symbols such as the Shinto God's shelf (*haidens*) and Japanese patriotic scrolls replaced the traditional Taoist gods' statues and scrolls, Japanese festivals were observed, and many Taiwanese had to take Japanese names. However, immediately after war's end, the Taiwanese reverted to their traditional Taiwanese (Chinese) customs.

### Chapter 2: The Setting

- <sup>1</sup> The amount and distribution of rainfall in the Hsin Hsing area in January .79-1.97 inches, April 3.93-5.99 inches, July 7.96-11.99 inches, October .79 inches. The average annual rainfall in the Chang-hua Hsin area is 29.37-39.05 inches. [132]
- <sup>2</sup> A great many of the overseas Chinese living in the Southeast Asian countries also came from the Ch'uan Chou and Chang Chou areas near Amoy. [174]
- <sup>3</sup> The historical information gathered from older residents of the area was based mainly on their own experiences as children and on stories told to them by their elders. [167]

Some of the numerous gazetteers available are listed in the section of the bibliography on Chinese and Japanese Language Sources. Chen Shao-hsing, Professor of Sociology and Demography at National Taiwan University, first warned me in 1957 that some problems exist in using these and other such materials in attempting to gain detailed information about Taiwan generally, or about local areas particularly. Although Chen notes in his recent book (1964:196-197) that some earlier Ch'ing dynasty chroniclers, e.g., Chen Meng-lin, author of *Chia Lo Hsin Chih* (1716), and Chen Wen-ta, compiler of the *Taiwan Hsin Chih* (1729), were reliable, he also points out that some later ones such as Yu Wen-i (1738), Wang Ying-ting (1794), Hsieh Chin-tsun (1807), and Chen Shu-chün (1852) were unreliable. Chen (1964:196-197) points out that these latter authors cited what was mentioned in the Chen Wen-ta (1729) book regardless of the actual change in customs through time. Apparently, then, they employed the practice of compiling at least some of their data from previously written gazetteers rather than going out into the countryside to obtain the necessary information. But even the reliable gazetteers usually still presented a composite

F 302

NOTES

124 picture of life rather than ethnographic-type studies of any one area.

- 127 During the Japanese period in Taiwan (1895-1945), Japanese police,  
 175 administrators, and academic researchers also made extensive detailed studies in Taiwan. These works, such as the *Taiwan Su Fa* (1910-1911), also were usually composite studies. But these more often dealt with specific aspects of Taiwanese (Chinese) life, such as: family, civil law, economics and agricultural processes, religion and magic (frequently viewing the local people as superstitious and backward), and general customs and habits of the Taiwanese. In these studies, the researchers frequently used scattered illustrative material drawn from either the cities and/or the rural areas of Taiwan.

Thus, a number of the Chinese and Japanese studies are generally valuable for providing a picture of early conditions for some general areas and on many specific subjects in Taiwan. They are, of course, also valuable for comparative purposes. Unfortunately, rarely, if ever, do any of them furnish any ethnographic or contextual pictures of Taiwanese life for any particular area in Taiwan, and especially not for the area of Hsin Hsing village. This has meant, therefore, that the available material has been of only limited value in the historical reconstruction of life in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing. It is also unfortunate that either during or after World War II, the historical records for Hsin Hsing and its immediate area which, during Japanese times, were usually kept in the district police station were apparently destroyed or lost.

- \* *Fu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*, no author, Ts Chen 15 or 1925, handwritten in Japanese with additions made in Chinese after the war. Found in the Fu Yen Hsiang Public Office. This source notes that in the Fu Yen area only about 600 chia of land were irrigated in the early 1900's. But by 1922 there were 2,100 chia of land irrigated, and in 1925 another irrigation system, the Er Pao Chen, was added.

- \* Barclay discussed how Taiwan was built up economically as a colonial area of Japan.

- \* Demographic figures for the whole island of Taiwan are based on local statistics from district public offices such as the Fu Yen Hsiang office.

The 1958 village population figures, the most recent ones cited in this section, differ from those 1959 figures used in the manual in Chapter 5 on social organization. Figures from the earlier date are used in this section because they are the ones most comparable with the census figures available for the Hsiang and all of Taiwan. On the other hand, the 1959 figures were the only ones specific and complete enough to be useful for the breakdown in social organization and family.

- \* These population growth rate figures are for Taiwanese only; aborigines are not included.

- \* This population growth rate figure is only for Taiwanese and mainlanders in Taiwan; aborigines are not included.

- \* Based on a discussion in May, 1966, with Professor Chen Shao-hsing, sociologist and demographer at the National Taiwan University. Some of the social factors affecting the birthrate and the trends in population growth will be examined in the chapters on social organization and especially on life cycle.

116. 121. 127

"This study of the Japanese colony of Formosa or Taiwan is based almost entirely on Japanese official sources, the exceptions being very few and explicitly mentioned. This reliance on Japanese sources may be explained by the fact that few foreigners have visited the island and fewer still have written about it. But even in the Japanese language comprehensive studies of Formosa are rather exceptional.

Those who have read something about Formosa may be astonished at some of the author's conclusions. They may remember the idyllic conditions pictured by the Japanese administration or its spokesmen in English publications. They may remember a picture of a prosperous and progressing island, the population of which is happy under the benevolent colonial administration. If progress consists in building roads, railways, harbors, radio stations, irrigation works, primary schools and hospitals, there is such progress in Formosa, and this book abounds in proofs of such progress. But the author has been interested not only in this question but even more in the question of how the Formosan people have fared under its rulers? At the time of annexation—45 years ago—Formosa was economically on about the same level as Japan. Japan was just emerging from her medieval state and was predominantly an agricultural country. Her agricultural technique at that time was hardly above that which prevailed in Formosa. Insofar as land was more abundant in the colony, its population was probably better off than that of Japan. What has happened in these last 45 years? How did the islanders fare in their political and cultural development? Had they any chance to perfect their culture enriched by contact with

116. 121. 127

the Japanese? Have they any semblance of political freedom or any opportunities to advance? If they are not masters of their own fate politically, do they control their own economic life? If the answers to these questions are of a discouraging character, it is not because of the author's attitude but because of the facts revealed in the Japanese reports.

The best known example of a colonial regime is probably that of British India. In the Western world British policy in India evoked much criticism. Yet conditions in British India cannot even be compared with those in Formosa. The Indian people can organize; they use their own languages in middle schools and even in the Universities; they publish their own newspapers and books in their own languages; they have their own political groups and parties, their voice and their criticism are heard in the provincial assemblies; certain important industries of India are now in the hands of Indians. However limited all these rights and the opportunities to use them may be in India, they are infinitely greater than those of the people of Formosa.

The author expresses his deepest gratitude to Mr. W. L. Holland, Mr. Joseph Phillips, and Mr. Alexander Stevenson for their editorial help and criticism of the manuscript, though this does not mean, of course, that they necessarily share the views and interpretations of the author."

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Formosans

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"In many cases it has been shown that the Taiwan official statistics are not entirely satisfactory. But the problems which we shall now discuss, important though they are, are given much less attention in the available official sources. These questions are: how many farmers own their land and how many rent it; how is the land distributed among the landowners and among the cultivators."

"First of all, the total number of those occupied in agriculture should be known. It may be given as the number of families—the easiest and perhaps the best way for certain purposes, because in countries where agriculture is the most important economic activity it is usually the family which works as a unit. Another way is to give the number of active persons occupied in agriculture. This method is good for comparison with the number of persons occupied in other economic fields where the family does not play any part in production, but its application to agriculture encounters certain obstacles: it is not easy to determine the number occupied because some members of the family are only partially employed in agriculture and some only seasonally (e.g. children in harvesting). Finally, the total number of persons dependent on agriculture may be given—farmers and members of their families not occupied elsewhere. Current statistics in Taiwan use the first and the last methods; they give the number of families occupied in agriculture and the 'agricultural population'. The census statistics give the number of persons actively occupied [73] in agriculture or, as it is often expressed, the number gainfully employed in agriculture. Unfortunately, these statistics are not consistent. It was shown above that, according to the census of the population taken in 1930 (the latest in which the question of occupation was asked), 71.4 per cent of the Chinese and 67 per cent of all the population gainfully employed were occupied in agriculture and forestry. But forestry as a principal occupation gives work to very few; it is mostly a sideline occupation for the

116, 127, 162

farmer, and its part in the economy of Taiwan is very small. If one takes into consideration the fact that the families in rural localities have more children per family than families in the cities, then the 'agricultural population' in Taiwan should constitute about 70 or 75 per cent in 1930. Since that date no revolutionary changes have occurred. "

"Before giving tables of the revenue and expenditures of the government-general, a few explanatory remarks should be made. (1) We give only net revenue (or expenditures) for the fiscal monopolies (1), railway communications, forests, hospitals, etc., because

1. In Taiwan fiscal monopolies include salt, camphor, opium, tobacco, and alcohol.

gross revenue figures give an exaggerated value to these items; (2) on the expenditure side we have changed the classification according to the purpose of the expenditures and all 'extraordinary' revenues and expenditures we combined with ordinary ones in order to give a more complete picture. The official heading, for example, 'grants to the sufferers from natural calamities' is misleading. One might assume that this represents aid rendered by the state to the local population, but on closer inspection one sees that a greater part of this item in the last year was made up of grants to the railways. Under the heading of 'building and repairs' (eizen hi) we find expenditures on airfields (more than one million yen) out of all proportion to the number of passengers carried (about 40 passengers per day), not including subsidies to airlines.

Unfortunately we cannot disentangle many other large items in view of the absence of information, and consequently, the amounts given represent a minimum for certain expenditures (war, police, 'subsidies' to business men, etc.) and if data were available they might be of much larger proportions."

"We have now come to a point where some estimate may be made of what the Japanese are getting from Taiwan (1). It is important to emphasize that all that follows is based,

1. Such questions as how many among the Japanese receive benefits from Taiwan and whether these benefits are distributed equally among recipients, do not concern us here.

with few exceptions, not on more or less exact official figures, but only on estimates. All those who have worked on colonial problems know how difficult it is to get certain data. This does not mean, however, that we should give up the idea of forming an opinion concerning, for example, colonial profits, for many facts are available which help us to make estimates. These are not therefore based on intuitive guesses, but are all founded on certain facts supplied by official and unofficial Japanese statistics."

"1. All tables are based on data contained in the Taiwan Agricultural Yearbook, Dept. of Agriculture and Forestry, Taipei. "

I obtained most of my material about the Chinese population of Formosa from the work of Okamatsu, but I have omitted the question of the properties, as that was given in too great detail. The data on the natives is based first on a report made by two assistants to the Civil Government of Formosa, the scholar Ino Yoshinori and Awano Denno Jo; they prepared this for the Civil Governor Goto (Taiwan banjin jiho, Status of the savages on Formosa) January 9 Meiji 32 (1899). Taipei (Taihoku), Meiji 33 (1900) and secondly it is based on the first number of a periodical Banjo-Kenkyu-Kwai-shi (that is the periodical of the Society to Investigate the Conditions of the Savages.) Tokyo, Meiji 31, (1898). This society was founded in 1898 to study the island of Formosa and the status of its native inhabitants.

Taiwan<sup>60</sup>.

Before the Japanese occupation there was frequent migration between the China mainland and Taiwan. After the Japanese occupation, the fundamental policy of the colonial government was to cut off the relation between China mainland and Taiwan. Thus the entrance of mainlanders to Taiwan and the departure of Taiwanese to the mainland was strictly controlled. After the restoration of Taiwan to China in 1945, especially since 1946, many people came to Taiwan from the mainland, and the population factors have changed greatly. During the half century of Japanese occupation the Chinese population in Taiwan was a "closed" population (I: p. 12), its change was almost wholly caused by natural increase, and the influence of migration was insignificant. It seemed that Taiwan was kept as a laboratory for experimentation on Chinese population change, and this is a very valuable condition from a demographic point of view.

Besides dependable data of population statistics, there are statistical data of administration, industry, communication and transportation, hygiene, and education, etc., which will enable us to trace the interrelation of population change and social change. Usually, statistical records begin after a society has attained some degree of development, and the data of the initial stages of modernization are not easy to find. Besides, neglect of birth and death registration is unavoidable in early statistics. Thus even when there are statistical records, dependable data are hard to get. Taiwan is an exception in these points. Since statistical records were taken by the colonial government under strict police control, dependable statistics from the initial stages of modernization are available, which will enable us to make a study of a complete process of population change and social change. "It is", as pointed out by Notestein, "if not the only case, then certainly one of the very few cases in the world" (I: p. v.).

Social change in western Europe took place from within, developed by inner necessity, and the change was from the base to the top. Social change in Taiwan was different from this, as pointed out by G. W. Barclay. In Taiwan the Change was started and pushed by the colonial ruler. It was passive in character, and was from the top to the bottom. There are many areas in the world which were occupied as colonies in former times, and their social change shows the same trend as that of Taiwan. The study of social change in Taiwan will help us to understand the colonial type of social change.

By the time of the Japanese occupation (1895), the islands of Taiwan and Hainan had about same size of population, around two and a half million. Fifty years thence, the population of Hainan remained almost the same, but the Taiwanese population had

Note 1: Hitherto the population of Taiwan was treated as a whole in most articles and books. In a paper by the present writer: "Sociological Study of Mortality in Taiwan", published in 1947-48 (main reference, No. 6), a different standpoint was adopted, Chinese population in Taiwan was the subject of the analysis. Two books by G. W. Barclay published in 1964 also adopted the same standpoint.

## INTRODUCTION

121 ment, since they are likewise closely allied to international developments that have not yet taken place.<sup>1</sup> This present era of Taiwan's history has just begun; discussion of its future in these terms necessarily rests on conjecture and may have little to do with the facts that are known about the population. The half-century of colonial rule, on the other hand, is over, and most of the facts are in. Hence this is the phase that can be investigated to the best purpose, for it can serve as an instructive example of its type in other places.

It is a well-documented case. There is no lack of thoughtful research on the island during this period. While under Japanese rule Taiwan probably had the distinction of being the most thoroughly inventoried colonial area in the world. Huge compilations of statistics and numerous special surveys were made from year to year. The economy, the terrain, the aboriginal tribes, the mineral wealth, the agricultural output, the industrial production and the foreign trade have all been studied and restudied until there is little to be added to this knowledge unless new evidence is uncovered that is not now available.<sup>2</sup>

• 127 Strangely enough, with all this interest in finding out about the island, there were very few attempts to study the social institutions and cultural patterns of the people, and the attention devoted to these matters has been scanty and perfunctory. Yet the numerical data relating to the population are the best of all, since their collection was most directly linked to the very effective system of control imposed by the Japanese. The largest task required of this investigation has been to test and evaluate these unknown source materials, and to introduce them into the Western literature. They comprise one of the most ample and creditable records for a population of this size that has ever been at the disposal of demographers, and the only systematic set of data for a portion of the Chinese population.

121 This is not to say that the subject of Taiwan's population has been entirely neglected. Nearly every published work about Taiwan, especially since 1945, has included a section on the people of the island.

<sup>1</sup> There is growing literature on Taiwan dealing with its political status. See, for example, Riggs, F. W. (1952), Ravenholt, A. (1952), Bate, H. M. (1952).

<sup>2</sup> Some of this material has already appeared in the form of special studies. See Yanaihara, Tadao (1929), Grajdanzev, A. J. (1942), Ch'en Cheng-hsiang (1950), Taiwan Keizai Nempo (1941). For a study of the characteristics of Taiwan's population, see Ch'en Cheng-hsiang and Tuan Chi-hsien (1951). The most useful single compilation of statistics is the *Statistical Summary of Taiwan for the Past 32 Years* (Taipei, 1946), which will be referred to hereafter simply as *Statistical Summary*.